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SUBJECT: MORNING SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT REPORTS

1. ZAIRE: INVASION AIMED AT TOPPLING MOBUTU?

EMBASSY KINSHASA BELIEVES THE FORCE INVADING ZAIRE INTENDS TO GO BEYOND ASSAULTS ON GUERRILLA BASES OR OCCUPATION OF AREAS IN THE SHABA COPPERBELT AND ATTEMPT THE OVERTHROW OF THE MOBUTU GOVERNMENT. MOBUTU IS DEPENDENT ON THE LOYALTY OF HIS PRIVILEGED ARMY LEADERSHIP AND THE CONTINUED POLITICAL QUIESCENCE OF HIS PEOPLE, BOTH OF WHICH WOULD BE SEVERELY TESTED BY MILITARY REVERSES OR PROLONGED FIGHTING. AT THE SAME TIME, THE FRAGILE ZAIRIAN ECONOMY COULD NOT SURVIVE LOSS OF THE COPPERBELT, MAJOR DISRUPTIONS IN PRO-
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DUCTION, OR HEAVY MILITARY EXPENDITURES WITHOUT OUTSIDE AID. ASSESSING THE PLAYERS AND THEIR STRATEGIES, THE EMBASSY SURMISES:

--ANGOLA WANTS TO TOPPLE MOBUTU, BUT MAY NOT BE WILLING TO GO SO FAR AS TO MOUNT A COORDINATED ATTACK ON WESTERN ZAIRE.

--THE KATANGAN GENDARMES WANT TO LIBERATE SHABA FROM MOBUTU'S RULE AND BRING DOWN HIS REGIME, BUT MAY HAVE TO SETTLE FOR A UNIFIED ZAIRE WITHOUT MOBUTU IF ANGOLA PROVES UNWILLING TO BECOME FURTHER EMBROILED.

--THE SOVIETS WOULD SEE EITHER THE OVERTHROW OF MOBUTU OR THE SECESSION OF SHABA AS FURTHERING THEIR WIDER OBJECTIVE OF EXTENDING SOVIET INFLUENCE IN THE REGION.

--THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE IN THE SHORT RUN SEEKS TO REPEL THE INVASION, REGAIN POLITICAL CONTROL, AND LIMIT THE DAMAGE THAT HAS BEEN DONE TO ITS INTERNATIONAL IMAGE.

--THE ZAIRIAN ARMY WANTS TO PRESERVE ITS PRIVILEGES, AND ULTIMATELY MIGHT NOT RESIST AN ENEMY PROPOSAL TO MAKE PEACE BY DUMPING MOBUTU.

--THE ZAIRIAN OPPOSITION TO MOBUTU IS GENERALLY COMMITTED TO NATIONAL UNITY, AND HOPES THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT CAN BE REMOVED WITHOUT LOSING SHABA IN THE PROCESS.

--THE PEOPLE OF SHABA ARE NO LONGER HIGHLY SEPARATIST, BUT COULD BECOME SO AGAIN IF CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF PROTRACTED FIGHTING. (CONFIDENTIAL) KINSHASA 2321, 3/16.)

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2. USSR: ARBATOV SCORES NEW VOA POLICY

AMBASSADOR TOON REPORTS THAT SOVIET AMERICANOLOGIST ARBATOV HAS EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN OVER THE IMPACT THE HUMAN RIGHTS DEBATE IS HAVING ON THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. ARBATOV TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THE SOVIET LEADERS ARE BECOMING CONVINCED THAT THE US HAS MOUNTED A CONCERTED CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE USSR. HE CITED AS EVIDENCE FOR THIS "DISTURBING" CONCLUSION THE VOICE OF AMERICA'S NEW EMPHASIS ON SOVIET INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

AMBASSADOR'S COMMENT: ARBATOV'S COMMENTS ON SOVIET PERCEPTION OF THE VOA'S NEW TONE STRIKE US AS HIGHLY PLAUSIBLE. WE BELIEVE PREVIOUS GUIDELINES ARE BEING IGNORED WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY, AND THIS UNDOUBTEDLY PROVIDES POWERFUL "EVIDENCE" TO SOME SOVIET OFFICIALS THAT OUR CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS ONLY A PRETEXT FOR A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AGAINST THEM WHOSE REAL REASON THEY ARE UNABLE TO FATHOM. (CONFIDENTIAL) MOSCOW 3341, 3/14.)

3. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY CAUTIONS ABOUT PATRIOTIC FRONT

IVORY COAST PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY TOLD AMBASSADOR STEARNS MARCH 14 THAT HE IS DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE TURN EVENTS ARE TAKING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AFTER EXPRESSING HIS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE AFRO-ARAB CONFERENCE IN CAIRO, WHERE HE SAID THE AFRICANS WERE FORCED TO ENDORSE ARAB POSITIONS AND RECEIVED LITTLE TANGIBLE HELP IN RETURN, HE DECLARED THAT:

--FRONTLINE SUPPORT FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS STRENGTHENING THE HAND OF THE SOVIETS, LENDING PLAUSIBILITY TO PRIME MINISTER SMITH'S "INTERNAL OPTION," AND CREATING PROBLEMS FOR OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS.

--HE HAS REFUSED TO MEET SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA FOR FEAR
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OF BEING ATTACKED FOR UNDERMINING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

--THE QUESTION OF WHICH NATIONALIST LEADERS SHOULD RULE ZIMBABWE SHOULD NOT BE DECIDED IN ADVANCE AND IMPOSED FROM OUTSIDE, BUT DETERMINED ONLY AFTER A SETTLEMENT GUARANTEEING MOVEMENT TOWARD MAJORITY RULE HAS BEEN REACHED. (SECRET) ABIDJAN 2559 (LIMDIS), 3/15.)

4. SPAIN: NO FRENCH CONNECTION TO NATO

QUAI OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD EMBASSY PARIS THEY ARE UNAWARE OF ANY REQUEST FROM SPAIN FOR FRANCE TO PROVIDE "LIAISON" WITH NATO, DESPITE WHAT THE FRENCH PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE IN BRUSSELS TOLD AMBASSADOR STRAUSS-KHAN RECENTLY. ACCORDING TO THE QUAI:

--SENIOR SPANISH OFFICIALS DID NOT EVEN MENTION NATO DURING TALKS WITH PRIME MINISTER BARRE EARLY THIS MONTH.

--FRANCE HAS NO IMMEDIATE DESIRE TO EXPAND ITS BILATERAL MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH SPAIN.

--THE SPANISH ARE DIVIDED ON NATO MEMBERSHIP, AND WILL NOT FORM A DEFINITE ATTITUDE TOWARD IT UNTIL THEY KNOW WHAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT THE JUNE ELECTIONS WILL PRODUCE. (CONFIDENTIAL) PARIS 7442 (LIMDIS) 3/14 AND USNATO 1007 (LIMDIS), 2/24.)

5. SUDAN/ETHIOPIA: SOVIET ENVOY DROPS PRETENSE OF

NEUTRALITY

EMBASSY KHARTOUM HAS LEARNED THAT SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO
SUDAN FEDOTOV, IN HIS PRIVATE TALKS WITH SUDANESE, IS
LOBBYING ASSIDUOUSLY ON BEHALF OF ETHIOPIA AND AGAINST
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CURRENT GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN POLICIES. FEDOTOV REPORTEDLY
ARGUES THAT SUDAN:

--BROKE A SECRET AGREEMENT WITH ETHIOPIA, UNDER WHICH
EACH SIDE ALLEGEDLY AGREED NOT TO PROVIDE MILITARY
SUPPORT TO REBELS IN THE OTHER'S TERRITORY; AND

--LOST ITS HITHERTO IMPECCABLE NON-ALIGNED CREDEN-
TIALS BY ECHOING THE US-INSPIRED SAUDI CONCERN WITH
RED SEA SECURITY.

EMBASSY COMMENT: PRESSURES OF RECENT EVENTS IN THE HORN
ARE EVIDENTLY CAUSING FEDOTOV TO GIVE UP ANY PRETENSE OF
REMAINING NEUTRAL BETWEEN SUDAN AND ITS TWO PRINCIPAL AN-
TAGONISTS, LIBYA AND ETHIOPIA. THIS WILL BE INTERPRETED
BY PRESIDENT NIMEIRI AS "PROOF" OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN
ANY MOVES AGAINST THE REGIME. (CONFIDENTIAL) KHARTOUM 844,
3/14.)
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